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17. pwatumu — bro.'s son; hus.'s sis.'s son
18. pwarimye — dau.'s hus.
19. parisano — son's wife
20. wopuko — fa.'s sis.; mo.'s bro.'s wife
21.
22. unya — hus.
23. yedote — fa.'s sis.'s dau.; mo.'s bro.'s dau.; hus.'s sis.; bro.'s wife
24. uimwe (umwe, ume) — son; mo.'s sis.'s son; sis.'s son; hus.'s bro.'s son
25. umwetamuru — hus.'s fa. ("son's grf.")
26. umwenote — hus.'s mo. ("son's grm.")
27. pwase — bro.'s dau.; hus.'s sis.'s dau.

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582 If we look for the active principles of the system in the three "middle" generations (i.e. speaker's generation, first ascending, and first descending generations), we find that we have here a bifurcating system, in which relatives tracing descent through the maternal line are differentiated from those tracing descent through the paternal line. Marriage, if reflected in the terminology, is generally of the symmetrical cross cousin variety, with the exception that a man may marry his sister's daughter. This is a type of terminology, in other words, which at first glance is well adapted to a dual organization or a sib system. At the present time, however, there is not the slightest indication of the presence of sibs
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174 nor of their former existence. Furthermore, no definite existence of sibs or dual organizations in Carib groups of an earlier time is to be found in the literature. Schomburgk, in speaking of the Macusi,[1] makes no mention of clans but says, "the uncle on the father's side may not marry the niece because she is regarded as next of kindred to the brothers and sisters, for which reason he also is called 'Papa.' On the other hand he is allowed to make ties with the daughter of his sister, the wife of a deceased brother and his stepmother when the father is dead." At the same time, it is hinted that descent is through the mother. However, the above mentioned marriage of a man with his sister's daughter would be contrary to the exogamic rule of a matrilinear clan, so that if any inference is to be drawn from the above statement of Schomburgk, it is that the Macusi are either patrilineal or that

[1] Schomburgk, 1922-23, *Travels in British Guiana*, Vol. II, p. 252.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

sib principles are not at work. The Carib of the Orinoco paid little attention to descent.[1] Roth, on the basis of personal investigations among Pomeroon Caribs, Akawai, Macusi, Patemona, and Taurepang (all Carib-speaking groups), was unable to find anything corresponding to group or family names which might indicate the recognized existence of sib groupings.[2]

The Macusi apparently possess, according to the somewhat fragmentary information given by Farabee and Schomburgk, a relationship system based on the same principles as that of the Barama Caribs, but are also without a sib system. Kirchhoff, in discussing this problem in a recent and illuminating paper on the social organization of the tribes of northeastern South America,[3] says "the relationship nomenclature of the Macusi is clearly built on one principle, the separation of parallel and cross relatives. . . . This type of kinship nomenclature, which we have found here among a people without sib organization and without traces of an earlier sib organization, has been reported from very many people in all parts of the world (although not from all Kultur provinces or Kulturkreises), and as well from those without as from those with sib organization. This type has been regarded by ethnologists as characteristic for sib organization and as intimately and necessarily associated with its (the sib's) fundamental principles. As, upon further investigation, nomenclatures of this type were discovered among hitherto unstudied living peoples without sib organization, a search was begun for new connections and new clarifications. The result is the modern position, which has been universally accepted by the leading North American ethnologists. Even today, however, it has received astonishingly little attention in other countries due to the widespread lack of interest in all ethnological problems. [This modern position is] that this type of nomenclature is the underlying factor in certain problems connected with the levirate and sororate, and consequently is associated with the house group, with small relation to sib organization. . . . Tylor has explained this type on the basis of the dual organization. . . . However, this type has a very

[1] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, p. 673.
[2] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, p. 675, "An old Pomeroon Carib gave me Turewi-o and Muru-wa as the only two alleged group names of his tribe that he could remember. While ignorant of their meaning or interpretation he assured me that they had nothing to do with sexual restrictions."
[3] Kirchhoff, 1932, *Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen und Verwandtenheirat*, pp. 41–71. Translation by author.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

614 601 171 wide distribution in the world, the dual organization a narrow one, so that the general explanation of the type on the basis of the dual organization is not applicable" unless one assumes the later diffusion of this type of nomenclature or a former wider distribution of the dual organization, evidence for which is lacking.

601 587 The actual kinship usages among the Barama Caribs at the present time support the view that, in the absence of sib organization, the terminology is closely connected with the customs of the levirate and the sororate. As has been mentioned elsewhere in this monograph, polygamous marriages are frequently sororal. Likewise, a widow usually marries a brother of her deceased husband. If these customs are not followed invariably at the present time, they nevertheless seem to be survivals of more stringent rules of former times. Informants state that sororate and levirate were invariable among the "old-time people." Unfortunately, while in the area itself, I did not have this problem well enough in mind to make a thorough census of marriages for the purpose of determining the actual incidence of the levirate and sororate in the total number of unions. However, practically all informants stated levirate and sororate rules in their descriptions of the choice of mates which are taken after the first marriage, indicating that this seems to be the conscious pattern, regardless of the actual behavior. In the twelve cases of polygynous marriages with the circumstances of which I was familiar, each of eight men had married his wife's sister. Of seven widows who had remarried, all had married brothers or parallel cousins (terminologically the same) of the deceased husbands.

601 582 Now the distinction between cross and parallel cousins and the prohibition of marriage with the latter, which is one of the fundamental principles of the Barama Carib system, as can be seen from the equivalences of affinal relatives (Section B, Analysis of the Relationship System), is an obvious necessity in a society in which both the levirate and sororate are actively functioning. The implications are obvious.[1] In many cases marriage with a child of the father's brother or mother's sister in such a society would mean marriage with an actual half-brother or half-sister.

[1] Cf. Lowie, 1919, *Family and Sib*; Lowie, 1920, *Primitive Society*, Chap. 8; Sapir, 1916, *Terms of Relationship and the Levirate*, pp. 327–337. Somewhat same viewpoints are expressed in Kroeber, 1909, *Classificatory Systems of Relationship*, pp. 77–84; Radcliff-Brown, 1930, *The Social Organisation of Australian Tribes*, p. 427 ff.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

Such incestuous marriages, with a very few exceptions, are prohibited throughout human society.[1]

On the other hand, marriage with a cross cousin, while occurring about a third of the time in the geneologies, is not prescribed in the system. It is true that the spouses of one's siblings and parallel cousins are addressed by the same terms as cross cousins (e.g. sister's husband is pwatumu, brother's wife is takano), but in actual usage among the Caribs these terms for cross cousin have no true implication of blood relationship. It would be more proper to translate the terms takano (female cross cousin, man speaking) and iyao (male cross cousin, woman speaking) as "marriageable." In other words, a Carib man will address any woman whom he does not know definitely to be a parallel cousin or sister as takano, a Carib woman will address any man as iyao whom she knows is not her brother or parallel cousin. Any individual called by these terms is a possible mate. All other persons are impossible as mates. I, being a stranger, was frequently called iyao by the women. This is not to say that the Caribs do not generally know which individuals are their cross cousins by blood relationship, but it simply means that no terminological distinction is made between true cross cousins and other marriageable persons. Such extension of terms is entirely inconsistent with a dual organization.

A further indication that the kinship terminology is unconnected with a former sib or dual organization is the indifference displayed

[1] This is not the place to enter into an elaborate theoretical discussion of incest tabus. We may, however, offer an explanation of their origin which does not depend on a supposed inherent repulsion against incest nor upon the presence or structure of the sib group. Assume, for the sake of making the point clear, that marriage was originally practised between brothers and sisters. It is the nature of things that all marriages could not be of this type over a considerable length of time. In the first place, the number of brothers and sisters is not equal in every human family. Some persons would therefore be obliged to seek mates outside the immediate family. In the second place, individual preference in some cases would naturally dictate the choice of a mate from those who were not numbered among the brothers or sisters of the chooser. Again an outside marriage would take place. Once an individual has married outside his family he has doubled his social resources; he has two families behind him instead of one; and the two groups united in the marriage have a basis therein for common interests. In the competition for survival which takes place among individuals and among families in all human society, even today, the person who married outside his family, and his family itself, would be in a stronger position than those who married siblings and families in which this was the only type of marriage. Thus two types of family would arise to compete against each other, the exogamic and the endogamic. Because of their greater social influence, which would of course be strengthened with the development of property concepts, the exogamic families would presumably force the endogamic families into extinction. At least they would force the practise of family endogamy into extinction. Before this had become complete, however, the exogamic families would have imposed a formula to define their position, as is the universal practise of all social institutions. This formula would have been the incest tabu. By the time the exogamic family had completely eliminated the endogamic type, the incest tabu would have become an integral part of the family structure. Viewed in this light the incest tabu may be considered as a social rather than a biological restriction, imposed by the successful exogamic type of family during the course of its social competition with the endogamic type of family. With the later rise of sib concepts the extension of the tabu, in certain cases, would arise naturally.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

601 614 in the terminology concerning the lineal affiliations of the grandparent's generation and of the grand-children's generation. As explained above, the separation of the maternal and paternal lines in the three "middle" generations is a natural reflection of the incest tabus which arise in a society in which the levirate and sororate are actively functioning. Under such conditions terminological distinctions are functionally necessary in the three middle generations, but are merely superfluous in the grandparents' and grandchildren's generations. On the other hand, if the system were based on a sib organization, a host of economic, religious, and social factors would demand a recognition of the linear affiliations of the members of the grandparents' and grandchildren's generations, if these generations were recognized at all. Such a lack of interest in the linear affiliations of the second ascending and second descending generations, as displayed in the Barama Carib system, is wholly foreign to the systems of the majority of sib organizations of which we know.

601 587 We may summarize the facts favoring the contention that the Barama Carib kinship terminology, which distinguishes the maternal and paternal lines only in the three "middle" generations, is connected with the levirate and sororate rather than with a sib or dual organization. 1. The levirate and sororate are still actively functioning, while there is no evidence of a present or former sib grouping. 2. Indifference is displayed in the terminology concerning the linear affiliations of the members of the grandparents' and of the grandchildren's generations. 3. Cross cousins are equated with all marriageable persons, whether demonstrably related by blood or not, a usage inconsistent with a strict dual organization.

603 591 The failure to distinguish sex of grandchildren reflects the break-up of the family which occurs as a result of extralocal marriage. Informants displayed great difficulty in remembering their grandchildren, because, as they said, their children move away after marriage and they lose track of their grandchildren. It will be remembered that marriage is matrilocal only until the birth of the first child. Birth and rearing of grandchildren usually takes place in a settlement removed from that of the grandparents. The average old man or woman will have difficulty in telling how

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

582 marriage frees a man from having to work for his spouse. . . .
604 The relatives of a woman acquire through her marriage not only
171 a servant in the person of her man, but also in her daughter a woman for whom one does not need to serve (because of her father's prior obligations to the family of his wife). The taking of this daughter makes a man free of a part of his obligation." Another explanation for the usage is reported from the Tupinamba (Coastal Tupi) on the authority of Soares de Souza, according to Kirchhoff. Here a man marries his widowed sister's daughter as a means of providing for the widow, and thus bringing him and her under the same roof. Of the two motives here mentioned which might have given rise to marriage with sister's daughter, the first appears to be applicable to the Barama Caribs in preference to the second, which is not compatible with the usage of the levirate.

601 One term in the Barama system I am unable to explain and believe that it must be regarded as an error. This is the term wa'ako which a woman applies to her older brother, the same term being applied by both men and women to older sister.

171 In concluding our remarks on the Barama Carib system as
614 such, we may point out that its general principles have been found
587 to be characteristic of the other Carib groups in South America. According to Kirchhoff's survey of the social organizations of northeastern South America, the Caribs are characterized by the following usages: (1) Absence of sibs or dual organization; (2) distinction, based on levirate and sororate, in the three middle generations between maternal and paternal lines; (3) impermanent matrilocal marriage.[1] The Arawak groups, on the other hand, seem to be characterized by matrilocal marriage and an organization of matrilineal unlocalized sibs, which among the Lokono at least are organized into exogamic moieties. The Uitoto and Bora have patrilocal marriage and patrilinear localized sibs.

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602 In the light of usages involved in the kinship system we see
612 that a Barama Carib recognizes one group of his relatives, the "parallel" relatives, more definitely than other relatives. The latter are terminologically undistinguished from other persons.

[1] Kirchhoff, 1932, a, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation*. This author has examined the literary sources dealing with the following Carib groups: Tamanak, Macusi, Taulingpang (Arekuna), Yekuana, Ginau, Aparai, Rukuyenne (Oyaba), Galibi, Kallinago of the Lesser Antilles, and Cumanagoto. Among the Aparai marriage is said to be patrilocal.

000 household context is reflected in the kinship system.

Kinship

*179 601 Persistence and change in elements of the kinship system are in keeping with changes in household composition and relationships among households. The kinship system in use during Gillin's field work is reported in Figures 14 and 15. Figures 16 and 17 present the kinship system in use during 1970-71. Table 13 compiles the Carib terms used by males; Table 14, those used by females.

601 Basically, this is a cognatic system with Iroquoian features. Categories of individuals in three middle generations, ego's and the immediate ascending and descending generations are identified. Aspects of bifurcate merging are evident in all three of these generations. The terminology extends one more generation in each direction. However, all individuals in the categories grandmother, grandfather, and grandchild are socially identical. There is no further lineal extensions. Although Gillin entertains the possibility (1936:90-98), there is no premise for sib or clan organization. Rather, this is a particularly egocentric kinship system. Its major purpose appears to be the categorization of people for each individual. A person's sex and age affect the manner in which related individuals are designated, and the changes in the system of categorization reflect shifts in the patterns of interaction among categories of people.

[114] [314] [618] [561]

175 601 The kinship system as reported by Gillin is one particularly suited to operating among a relatively small, endogamous population

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 130]